WRITE your state legislators to approve the US Constitutional amendments offered by the Council of State Governments. With vigorous action, these three amendments can be adopted and federal power reduced. See page 133.

Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

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Volume XX, No. 7 February 16, 1963 Section I—News

CUBA: *Behind the "snow job"* . . . . . (121)

CANADA: *"Our ham-handed diplomacy"* . (122)

MC NAMARA: *His not-so-grand design* . . (123)

DE GAULLE: *Why he says "non"* . . . . . (123)

BYRD: *Wants Budget Director fired* . . . . . (124)

The Big Buildup: Capitol Hill registered grave concern and astonishment at the revelation of the facts about the bulging Soviet arsenal in Cuba which came from the lips of the Administration last week. But the legislators evinced almost equal surprise—mixed with cynical thoughts—at the size of the "news management" buildup which accompanied Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's confession of the magnitude of the next-door Soviet base.

For 36 hours, JFK's news-managers on TV, radio, in printed releases, by featuring the Secretary of Defense and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency and using elaborate photos and expert verbiage, literally snowed under all the media in what everyone in Washington recognized as a major effort. To do what? To inform the people? Or to protect the Kennedy image, tarnished by several months of do-nothing about Cuba?

Did this big drive succeed? Not with the denizens of Capitol Hill. For Administration experts clearly disagreed (as they often do) on the most important question of all: Are those things out? McNamara said yes they are, and here's the proof in aerial reconnaissance photos. CIA head John McCone said "maybe," but admitted it's uncertain, in these words: "Absolute assurance on these matters [whether missiles and bombers have been withdrawn] can only come from continuing, penetrating on-site inspection."

But even after the snow job, these facts remain:

(1) McNamara claimed that the "defensive" weapons (including tanks, rifles, 100 Migs, etc.) were not capable of being moved surreptitiously to Latin American countries for "offensive" and subversive purposes. While the Secretary was giving out this information, the Washington *Evening Star*—just hours before—had reported: "Fidel Castro has begun shipping arms received from Soviet Russia to his Communist admirer, Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana, informed government sources disclosed today."

In addition, Ydigoras Fuentes, President of Guatemala, has written a letter to Dr. Carlos Todd, head of the much respected Cuban Information Service in Miami. Fuentes writes Todd that there is no question that Soviet submarines (presumably based in that "fishing port" in Cuba) are "loading arms and men" onto the South American continent.

(2) In effect, McNamara denied the statement by Representative Don Bruce (R.-Ind.) that he had learned on the "highest authority" that "highly placed officials in Cuba from several major Western powers friendly to the United States counted the unloading from Soviet vessels in Cuba of 82 to 88 Soviet missiles, not 42." Bruce still sticks to this statement.

Dr. Todd says he has accurate reports that missiles remain in camouflaged areas which high—and even low—reconnaissance would find very difficult to discover. "These sources," he tells *Human Events*, "were the same who supplied the accurate data on the Soviet-missile build-up last fall."

(3) And what about those troops, "heavily armed" according to Secretary of State Dean Rusk? The Administration claims they are there for "defensive" purposes. But what are they defending? McNamara said they were sent by the Soviets to protect the missiles—yet he says they are gone. What's the real answer?

Cuban experts state flatly the battalions remain to prevent the one event—and apparently the only event—Kennedy counts on at the present time to free Cuba: an internal revolt. Would the Russians duplicate their bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956? Would the US permit this?

Right to Work: In a landmark action which has given great impetus to the right-to-work movement across the Nation, the Wyoming Legislature last week passed a law to prohibit compulsory unionism. Thus Wyoming becomes the 20th state in the union to have such a law and the first state to pass such a measure since 1958.

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This event—much heralded by those opposed to the present power of the labor barons over the union rank and file—is expected to have wide political ramifications. The National Right-to-Work headquarters in Washington says it has already bolstered the hopes of right-to-work forces in Oklahoma, where a referendum on this issue is slated to be submitted to the voters later this year. (Reports from the grass roots in the Sooner State say it has an excellent chance of passing.)

Politicos in Wyoming feel the action also constitutes a bad setback for Senator Gale McGhee (D.-Wyo.), who joined the state Democratic party and the AFL-CIO in their campaign to defeat right to work. McGhee is up for re-election next year.

The campaign waged against Wyoming's right-to-work measure was one of the most vicious on record, say those in the Equality State. One of the most dramatic examples of union pressure was the AFL-CIO's threat to boycott Cheyenne dairyman Val Christensen, who publicly endorsed the measure. Wyoming papers claimed Christensen lost nearly 400 retail milk customers, all of whom had been told by the union to "stop buying from Val."

Farm Message: The President's farm program is the same old try at "government supply-management schemes with stricter controls and larger subsidies, all to be run by politicians in Washington." So states Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The AFBF represents more than 1.6 million farm families and is the Nation's largest farm organization.

"For example," says Shuman, "President Kennedy is recommending a huge and costly Brannan-type subsidy on cotton for the benefit of the cotton mills . . . Similarly, President Kennedy is calling for a 'yes' vote in the forthcoming national wheat referendum on his wheat certificate program. This plan calls for the tightest and most binding controls ever proposed for any agricultural commodity."

The eminently respectable *Wall Street Journal*, which tends toward understating its case, remarked that the wheat plan was "one of the most naked threats directed by a President at a group of Americans."

Republicans on the House Agriculture Committee also issued a statement on the President's farm message:

"We respectfully submit that the taxpayers of this Nation cannot much longer afford the alleged savings the President discussed in his message. Secretary Freeman has already spent more money —$7.418 billion in one fiscal year (fiscal 1962)—than any previous Secretary of Agriculture has spent in the history of the United States in a like period . . . and in fiscal year 1964, the Office of Budget and Finance of the Department of Agriculture estimates that total USDA spending will be some $8,481,700,000."

Desperate Diplomacy: That US State Department note publicly reprimanding Canada's Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker for his nuclear policy was a calculated New Frontier bombshell, intended to bring down the Diefenbaker government. So report political experts here in Washington.

Pro-New Frontier columnist Doris Fleeson called the shot. She reported in the Washington *Evening Star* (February 4): "Mr. Pearson [Diefenbaker's liberal opposition] . . . is a New Deal-New Frontier sympathizer . . . It could just be that some well-meaning friend here decided to give Mr. Pearson a hand. Precisely that suggestion is going the rounds with a rather important name attached."

George D. Aiken (R.-Vt.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Canadian Affairs, said Canada should install nuclear weapons, but we should have sent any protest "through normal channels."

What has really made the "Dutch Uncle" note seem phony is that Diefenbaker's position on nuclear policy was taken from a leaf in Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's own notebook. The military writer for the Washington *Evening Star*, Earl H. Voss, commented: "If the Soviet bomber force is at the same time being phased out, as Mr. McNamara reports, Canada's jet interceptors and Bomarc-B missiles, which the United States now wants to equip with nuclear weapons, are obsolete."

Diefenbaker, moreover, is stressing a conventional strategy—the hallmark of New Frontier defense policies.

The Administration, it is noted, has continued to act as an international bully toward our allies (though not, some say, toward the Soviets). Adenauer, de Gaulle, Macmillan and Fanfani have all experienced New Frontier meddling into the internal affairs of their countries. Not a few suspect that in many cases—particularly in the Skybolt and the Canadian incidents—that the Kennedy Administration has attempted to scuttle the conservative governments in power.

The most acid comments on the whole Canadian affair, however, were delivered by Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*, often acclaimed as the dean of the Nation's columnists.

In an unusually caustic column, Krock reported that the New Frontier is blamed for "one of the most ham-handed, ill-conceived and undiplomatic employments in the record of American diplomacy

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and for the resentment of all Canada for this intrusion in Canada's most vital issue of policy."

The New York *Times* columnist said he believed, on excellent authority, that the statement had been "cleared" through the White House office of McGeorge Bundy, JFK's alter-ego and special adviser on national security affairs. "The President and the White House," Krock flatly declared, "have not only great, but final, responsibility for the issuance of the January 30 statement, including its phraseology."

McNamara's Plan: A steady drumfire of criticism continues to rain down on the defense policies of the once seemingly untouchable Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara. Even a Washington *Post* editorial (January 31) made some implied—but solid—criticism of the ex-Ford Whiz Kid's defense strategy recently unveiled before Congress.

In that critical message, the Secretary reversed his previously announced, but never carried through, "counterforce doctrine," which envisioned US nuclear superiority to stop Soviet aggression. Now, says the man from Michigan, the US by 1968 will have to settle on a policy of nuclear stalemate, since it "will become increasingly improbable" that either side could destroy enough of the other's strategic force in one blow to prevent a devastating retaliatory counterpunch. This, he added, underscored the need for ending the "armaments race."

Capitol Hill feels, however, that, if it is becoming "increasingly improbable" that the US could swiftly knock out the Soviet's strategic force, this is due primarily to McNamara's own disarmament moves, not to any technological advances by the Soviets.

> **In recent months, says pro-Kennedy Newsweek, "the US, in a variety of ways, has indicated its willingness to 'manage' the arms race—the word disarmament is still treated gingerly. . . The number of Minutemen. . . has been cut back. . . the US has also agreed to refrain from developing space weapons such as bombs in orbit. . ."**

According to *Air Force* magazine, published by the Air Force Association, "there is a striking parallel" between McNamara's policies and those of the cult of appeasement-minded scientists "now influencing military strategy."

"Abominable No Man"?: After the "snow job" on the press (replete with managed news from the Administration) came a thaw last week. Instead of a sort of ogre, a Napoleon who always says *non,* de Gaulle, it seemed, was a man with a case for his actions—and sufficient free voices in the press arose to give him, nose and all, quite a reasonable profile.

The Capital's oldest and most respected daily, the *Evening Star,* got word from Crosby Noyes, its correspondent in London, that Fleet Street had badly distorted the news about the French President and that, among other fables, the hysterical story propagated by the British about de Gaulle's negotiating a sell-out of Europe with Khrushchev was "mischievous nonsense." *U. S. News & World Report* quoted Chancellor Adenauer as remarking, "I cannot understand the present great excitement." The West German leader went on to say that he knows de Gaulle is "absolutely in favor of cooperation with the US."

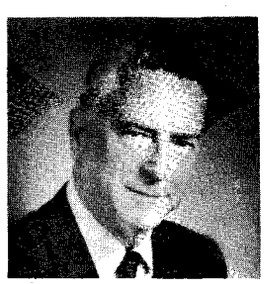
Former US Ambassador Claire Boothe Luce, in a syndicated story, found the French leader an eminently reasonable man who has been forced into his present posture by Kennedy diplomacy. After watching two JFK backdowns on Cuba, de Gaulle, she says, has obviously concluded that the US now is reconciled to a nuclear stalemate over Europe and cannot be relied upon to launch a nuclear attack on Russia if that power starts westward in Europe. Hence, she says, it is no *folie de grandeur* for the Tall General to conclude France must have its own nuclear power to deal with Soviet Russia.

But isn't that foolish, isn't French air and nuclear power inadequate? A former US Air Force Chief of Staff does not think so. Last week, General Thomas D. White said that the French Mirage IV has the capability of delivering bombs on 20 Russian and Red-satellite cities. He thinks that France, with nuclear bombs, would thus possess "enormous bargaining power."

White is well-known and respected on Capitol Hill, and among legislators his view may serve to alter the "egomaniac" picture of de Gaulle which Fleet Street (together with US pundits) has created. Senators and Representatives also heard that a "Napoleonic" statement attributed to de Gaulle in the English and American press was actually a mistranslation; he did not say France must have dominance in Europe.

The US press seems to pick up the most lurid Francophobe views in the British press. Actually, there are some Englishmen who don't want their country in the Common Market, and they are not merely Labor party politicians seeking to embarrass Macmillan.

For instance, Kenneth De Courcy in his con-



Representative Charles Raper Jonas, Republican of North Carolina: "Congratulations on the fine service Human Events is rendering to people. Please keep up your good work. You are quoted more often in my mail than any other publication."

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servative *Intelligence Digest* remains a severe critic of Macmillan's policy. Referring to the present British government strategy of seeking negotiation with Common Market members other than France, De Courcy says, "Little if anything can be said for Britain's joining a divided Common Market." For that's what it would be if Britain got in "on the backs of Germany, Benelux and Italy in opposition to France." In a political sense, points out De Courcy, this "might well cause a deep rift in Western Europe."

Budget Brawl: Budget Director Kermit Gordon, taking the cue from New Frontier news management, has engaged in a bit of news weaponry himself with both the press and Congress. Appearing before the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee, Gordon repeatedly told the lawmakers that a balanced budget for fiscal 1964 would be "self-defeating" and lead to unemployment.

The Washington *Post's* crack economic reporter, Julius Duscha, printed the story January 30. Then Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, suggested that Gordon be removed from his post for advocating an unbalanced budget. Whereupon Gordon's office issued a statement to the press categorically denying he ever said any such thing. "On the contrary," read the statement, "Mr. Gordon in his testimony strongly supported the goal of a balanced budget." Who was right?

A look at Gordon's testimony before Congress, however, reveals Gordon as saying:

"Many have wondered why the Administration did not reduce expenditures in order to make room for a tax cut within a balanced budget . . . A reduction in the proposed level of federal expenditures, not matched by a larger tax reduction, would be self-defeating" and, Gordon continued, would lead to "unemployment." Thus Gordon explicitly defends the Administration's refusal to cut federal spending to achieve a balanced budget.

Atomic Test Ban: Lewis L. Strauss, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, last week sounded a clear warning about the test-ban negotiations between the US and the USSR. Speaking before a special GOP nuclear test-ban committee—established to alert the public to the dangers of the atomic test-ban negotiations—Strauss said the US should not settle for just ten on-site inspections, as the President has said.

"The figure ten has been mentioned," Strauss said in an interview with Craig Hosmer (R.-Cal.). "In my opinion that would be completely inadequate [considering the] many hundreds of seismic events in the Russian land mass each year."

Hosmer, a long-time member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, then questioned Strauss about those "tamper-proof black boxes." Strauss said, "There is no such thing as a tamper-proof detection device and nothing can take the place of unhampered, on-site inspection by an international team on which our own people would be adequately represented."

Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, has submitted a position paper to Hosmer saying we should reject a test-ban for a variety of reasons. Chief among them, he said, is that our missile defense system is unsatisfactory, and we need more tests to improve it.

Capitol Camera: The political assassins in the liberal press and in Congress—with apparent tacit support from Administration forces—are now giving Senator Kenneth Keating (R.-N.Y.) the old McCarthy treatment. While Keating accurately warned the nation of the dangerous Soviet missile buildup last fall, he is now being painted as a villain deliberately spreading false rumors on Cuba to make political hay. Keating's most recent claims about a Soviet buildup in Cuba, however, are virtually the same as those of the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Edwin Martin. Martin said last week that he agreed with Keating that the Soviets may have in Cuba ten times the amount of troops and military equipment it had there last July.

• *"This country cannot afford the luxury of royal families, in which a name alone is sufficient to entitle the bearer to high public responsibility," said the pro-Kennedy Washington* Post *(February 5). It was referring to JFK's naming of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., to the post of Under Secretary of Commerce. FDR, Jr., is under fire as a foreign-paid lobbyist and the* Post *finds him without qualifications. But Capital readers wonder if the* Post *editorial is an indirect attack on the present Democratic "royal family" as well as that of the late President's off-spring.*

• Chief military writer for the Washington *Daily News* Jim G. Lucas notes the lavish flow of Soviet military hardware into Cuba since October. Says Lucas: "The flow of military equipment—including tanks, artillery, trucks, helicopters, planes, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and missiles—increases every day . . . Obviously the Russians are in charge in Cuba and *they are carrying out some master plan"* (italics added).

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TAPE RECORDED Speeches from the Fifth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference are now available. Bring to your community the voices and messages of over 25 leading political experts. See page 132.

HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY ---

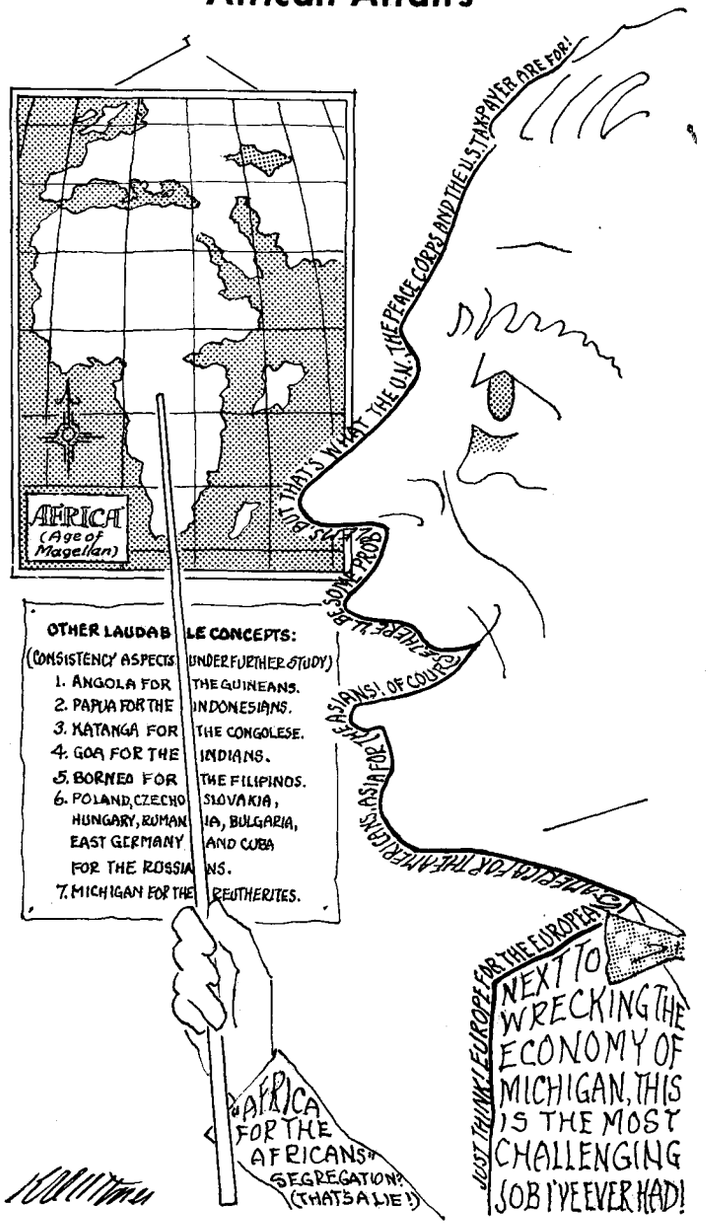
New Washington Drink: In Washington there's a new drink that's becoming popular with government workers. It's called the Civil Service Cocktail or, The Hatch Act On The Rocks, with an arm twist.

Volume XX, No. 7—Section II

February 16, 1963

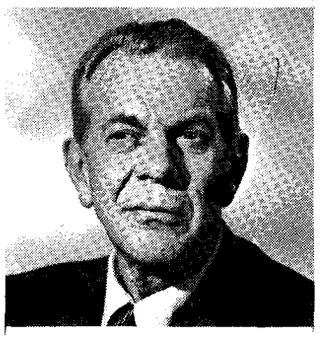
Profiles in Newfrontery

G. Mennen Williams
African Affairs


AFRICA (Age of Magellan)
OTHER LAUDABLE CONCEPTS: (CONSISTENCY ASPECTS UNDER FURTHER STUDY)
1. ANGOLA FOR THE GUINEANS.
2. PAPUA FOR THE INDONESIANS.
3. KATANGA FOR THE CONGOLESE.
4. GOA FOR THE INDIANS.
5. BORNEO FOR THE FILIPINOS.
6. POLAND, CZECHO SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA, EAST GERMANY AND CUBA FOR THE RUSSIANS.
7. MICHIGAN FOR THE REDTHERITES.
BUT THAT'S WHAT THE U.N. THE PEACE CORPS AND THE U.S. TAXPAYER ARE FOR!
SLAVE LABOR OF SOME PROD
ASIANS! OF COURSE!
ASIA FOR THE ASIANS
AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS
SEGREGATION? (THAT'S A LIE!)
JUST THINK! EUROPE FOR THE EUROPEANS
NEXT TO WRECKING THE ECONOMY OF MICHIGAN, THIS IS THE MOST CHALLENGING JOB I'VE EVER HAD!

USIA's Scheme Backfires
GOP $300 Richer

The Republican National Committee is $300 richer today, thanks to none other than Jacqueline Kennedy and the United States Information Agency.


MASSEY

The story of this unexpected windfall is best told by Raymond Massey, of Broadway fame, in a letter to Senator Barry Goldwater:

"I did for the USIA the narration made by that agency of Mrs. Kennedy's trip to Pakistan and India.

"It was not my intention to publicize Mrs. Kennedy, or even India or Pakistan, but I was told by the USIA, namely Ed Murrow, a personal, but not political friend, that this film was for showing exclusively outside the United States, a well-thought-out part of his propaganda to present a happy picture of our country.

"I was, as a matter of fact, rather pleased to have my good Republican voice used with the film.

"All of a sudden, and for the first time, the USIA decided to release this film in commercial theaters throughout the United States.

"They sent me the colossal indication of their opinion of the value of my services. It gives me great pleasure to turn this check for $300 over to the Republican National Committee—and will you please ask your secretary to see it goes where it will do the most good."

THERE IS A LIMIT—"In some quarters there is an idea that the social security fund can be continually loaded down with new programs and remain solvent, but I think the railroad retirement plan may give us a clue as to what might happen to social security. In 1946 there were 1,622,000 railroad employes paying into the railroad retirement plan and 183,000 collecting benefits. In 1961 there were 836,000 railroad employes paying taxes into the railroad retirement fund and 819,000 collecting benefits, with the fund running an actuarial deficit every year."

—Representative J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

A NEW ADAGE—"It would appear that President Kennedy has rewritten the old New Deal dictum to read: 'Cut taxes, spend and spend, elect and elect.'"

—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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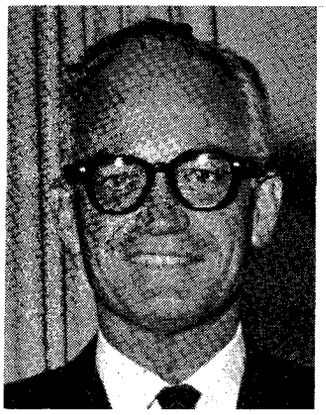
Goldwater's Gambit

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

"Mr. Conservative" wants an additional handle to his name. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona would like to earn the right at this congressional session to be known as a top flight legislator. He's out to close the prestige gap on "Mr. Republican" as the late Senator Robert A. Taft came to be known for party and parliamentary leadership.



GOLDWATER

This may be the year to do it—or to make a beginning. As 1962 opened Goldwater ranked 44th in seniority among 100 Senators. Since then, death, defeat and retirement have removed Senators Chavez, Wiley, Capehart, Kerr, Schoeppel, Dworshak, Butler, Francis Case and Bush. Goldwater moves into the top layer of the Senate. Among the 33 Republicans he is headed in seniority only by Aiken, Hickenlooper, Saltonstall, Margaret Smith, Milton Young, John Williams, Carlson, Bennet, Dirksen, Mundt and Kuchel. In the shadowy hierarchy of the Capitol, rank has its privileges.

Last year Goldwater gained a coveted seat on the Armed Services Committee. He's ranking member on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and will have there a new Kennedy for a sparring partner. It was against Senator John F. Kennedy and against Chief Counsel Robert F. Kennedy that Goldwater sharpened his anti-big-labor punches in years gone by.

Goldwater has on tap several bills for reforming labor legislation. The most ingenious is a gimmick that would throw reverse English on the law that governs compulsory unionism. As things stand today, any state can invoke Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act and vote itself voluntary unionism, or the right-to-work. Goldwater's gimmick is to make right-to-work the law of the land, but allow states to vote themselves a union shop provision—if they like.

The bronzed Arizonan also plans a bill that would direct the Labor Secretary to bring law suits for workers who declare their rights violated by union leadership. He has another bill for a secret strike vote upon petition of 30 per cent of the affected workers. He will reintroduce his last year's bill to allow tax credits for education, thus rendering federal aid to education unnecessary.

Relieved of the heavy speaking schedule he carried as Senate Campaign Committee Chairman, Goldwater will have more time for his floor duties. He will fight the President's Skybolt cancellation. He will battle the Congo policy. He has figures to show that government relief jumped 170 per cent—from $13 billion to $38 billion—between 1950 and 1961. He will war on relief-bums and relief-bureaucracy.

Most of his public speaking will be confined to Arizona, but Goldwater has a national television appearance in February. He and other Republicans are trying to crash the famed Ev and Charlie show in Washington.

Mr. Conservative, seeking new laurels, means to be seen and heard.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Steel Wages and Dividends

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From 1950 to 1961, hourly wages of steel workers rose about 109 per cent while net profits declined 10 per cent even though invested capital nearly doubled from $5.5 billion in 1950 to $10.7 billion in 1961.

The President called attention to the fact that the stockholders of the steel industry have been receiving about $600 million in dividends in each of the last five years. That sounds like an impressive figure, but it is much smaller than the $866 million the industry paid out in taxes each year or the $4,687 million of aggregate payroll for steel employes.

Furthermore, $600 million is not a very large return on the $10 billion of invested capital. Replacement of the steel industry's assets at present prices would of course cost much more.

Many people are under the impression that most of the steel industry's dividends are paid to wealthy individuals. This is far from the truth.

A study made by US Steel nearly 10 years ago showed that 53 per cent of their stockholders enjoyed a smaller income than their average steel worker. The majority of the stockholders of the US Steel Company are "little fellows" who are being squeezed in order that the better-paid steel workers may receive more

According to the President, Secretary of Defense McNamara estimated that a $6-a-ton increase in the price of steel would add about $1 billion to US defense costs. It is estimated that the government buys 3 to 4 million tons of steel a year. The added cost, therefore, would be something like $18 to $24 million. That is in the neighborhood of 2 per cent of Mr. McNamara's estimate.

Since 1958, the average price of steel has advanced about 1 per cent while hourly labor costs of making steel have increased 18 per cent, the cost of living 4 per cent, and per capita taxes according to the US Department of Commerce 21 per cent. Obviously, steel has been made the scapegoat to carry a multitude of other much greater sins.

Since this article first appeared, the steel industry's reports of annual earnings and dividends have not served to cheer shareholders. Last week, US Steel board chairman Roger Blough announced profits had sunk to a ten-year low. In 1957, US Steel's best year, profits totaled $419.4 million. And Big Steel is not alone. Bethlehem—the Nation's No. 2 steel producer—also announced last week a drop in net earnings for the past year, down to a 15-year low.

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New Frontier Economics Have Failed

By WALTER TROHAN

The New Frontier has now fixed its boundaries way out yonder in the new economy where growth is achieved by cutting taxes, raising salaries, increasing the payroll and stepping up spending to record proportions, all at the same time.

The Administration says a tax cut is the most important and surest way of stimulating the economy. The fact that it gives the Administration a good political issue, especially if Congress does not cut taxes this year, which is likely, is a fringe benefit for the New Frontier.

Raising salaries isn't really giving bureaucrats more pay, according to New Frontiersmen, but is merely giving them a comparable scale to that of leaders in industry. The fact is that leaders of industry wouldn't be around long if they were running their operations into a $304-billion deficit.

Increasing the payroll and increasing spending isn't really stepping up operations, but merely keeping pace with growth, according to the New Frontier. Administration spokesmen say that although the payroll is going up in total numbers, there are as many federal workers per 100 citizens as there were ten years ago and they are merely keeping up with the population growth. Spending, they add, is less heavy than it appears when measured against the population growth.

TROHAN

Only those geared to the old school of economics, New Frontiersmen say, would dare say that President Kennedy is a master of contradictions when he calls for drastic economy in the federal government at the same time he proposes increases in workers and spending.

'Economical' President Seeks More Jobs

Mr. Kennedy has called for about 36,500 new employes in his $98.8-billion budget, an all-time high. He would raise the federal payroll from 2,534,041 to 2,570,533. This is on top of the 200,000 deserving Democrats he has added to the payroll during his first two years in office.

Of course, he has called for cuts. He proposed to cut the civilian payroll in the Defense Department from 345,284 to 345,250—a slash of 34. He proposed to cut the foreign aid personnel even deeper—from 16,588 to 16,540, a slash of 48.

There is small call for rejoicing from the taxpayer because the President would like to step up salaries, especially in the higher echelons. He would boost top civil service pay from $18,000 to $28,000 a year, and cabinet officers would go from $25,000 to around $40,000.

Congress has been rather silent on the proposed pay raises because members have a personal stake in the game. Members of Congress, who have already more than doubled their pay since the end of World War II, have great expectations of getting it up from $22,500 to $30,000.

Style of New Frontier: Double Pay Raise

This is the way of stepping up income taxes which federal workers like best, that is to raise salaries and lower taxes. This is a double pay raise.

Budget Director Kermit Gordon said the proposed increase in government workers is less than the percentage rate of growth in the American Telephone and Telegraph company, citing an industrial example. What he did not stress is that A. T. & T. makes a profit and pays dividends, while the government goes deeper and deeper into the red. . . .

Ike offered an $81 billion budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, which Mr. Kennedy stepped up to 88 billions. For the fiscal year beginning next July 1, he proposed to spend 98.8 billions, with a deficit of 11.9 billions.

Anyone who doesn't like the spending and tax-cutting isn't hep to the new economics, according to New Frontiersmen. Critics were born too long ago and went to school at the wrong time, when two and two made four, instead of the good new days when spending and tax cuts make votes and let the deficit worry the next generation.

At Yale last June, Mr. Kennedy said he wanted to explode economic myths. In his budget message and tax message the President has exploded them with a bang that will be echoing on election day, 1964.

'So I'll Chop a Hole to Let the Water Out'

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Author SVEND PETERSEN, an assistant editor of *Human Events*, has had a lifelong interest in American history and government. He was a researcher for Senator Robert A. Taft in his 1952 campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, and was on the staff of Senator Gordon L. Allott (R.-Colo.), 1955-58. His first book was *Mark Twain and the Government*, a collection of the humorist's comments on government and politics.

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Section Three
February 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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JFK's Deceptive Manipulating of the Press

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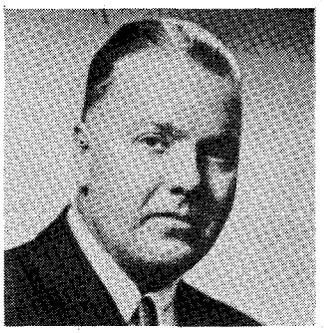
By WILLARD EDWARDS
Washington Correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*

A great deal of shocked indignation was expressed in the newspaper world last October 30—and since then—when Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, voiced an astounding confession of manipulation of news by the Kennedy Administration during the Cuban crisis.



EDWARDS

It is essential that the full meaning of his words be explored, so I read them:

"News generated—mark the word "generated" which means to create, to make news—News generated by actions of the government as to content and timing are part of the arsenal of weaponry that a President has in the application of military force and related forces"—to what end? Sylvester says the end is the solution of political problems and the application of international political pressure.

"In the kind of world we live in [he continued] the generation [and mark that word again] of news by actions taken by the government becomes one weapon in a strained situation. The results, in my opinion, justify the methods we used."

Five weeks later, on December 6, Sylvester, in another statement, got down to earth and made his meaning crystal clear. The government, despite the storm of criticism about his first statement, he said, would continue its policy of "generating" news because "information is power." And then he added, defiantly, perhaps, but very, very firmly:

"I think the inherent right of the government to lie—to lie to save itself when faced with nuclear disaster—is basic."

There we had it. The government has both an inherent and basic right to falsify news in the name of self-preservation. . . .

As I noted in the beginning, outraged protest flowed in journalistic circles. The American Society of Newspaper Editors reported last month on the "increasing efforts by federal officials to manage and manipulate news for propaganda as well as security purposes." The report listed specific examples of deliberate deception, news manipulation—including outright lying—by the Kennedy Administration during the Cuban crisis.

Now, I think we should be honest about this. We are entitled to express alarm, indignation, anger, resentment—but not surprise. It was inevitable. The manipulation of news has always been a government goal and in the last two years the practice has flowered to perfection.

Those of us who work on Capitol Hill were made aware years ago that the one sure way to invite a torrent of almost hysterical protest was to write a line or two hinting that a young Senator named John F. Kennedy was less than saintly in his legislative pursuits. The mildest mention of his failings—and they were not few—brought down the wrath of the Senator's entire staff upon the reporter. Now, the men then around him are in the government where they have real power to regulate the flow of information and twist it to their ends.

I thought in those days that the Senator wasn't as thin-skinned as some of his associates. He had a rather likeable way of spoofing his qualities and his ambitions which hinted that he had that ingredient essential to men in public life—the ability to take it as well as dish it out.

But when, as President, he cancelled the White House subscription to a New York newspaper because it said some things he disliked, I realized that he had succumbed to the influences around him. That was a petty and a petulant act, worthy of a spoiled child, and a disturbing revelation of sensitivity to criticism. It certainly was a go-ahead signal to the forces in government which regard the handling of news as part of the "arsenal of weaponry" at the command of the President.

Now, Sylvester has provided us a brutally frank description of the philosophy of those forces: "Deliberate deception of the American people is justified."

How did we get to this point where an official government spokesman could make such an unabashed defense of deceit? The Sylvester statement came 21 months after President Kennedy in his State of the Union address declared: "I shall withhold from neither the Congress nor the people any fact or report, past, present or future, which is necessary for an informed judgment of our conduct and hazards."

Contrast this pledge with what happened in the weeks preceding announcement of the Cuban blockade. The reports of an offensive missile build-up in Cuba were widely aired in many newspapers by many in Congress. There were repeated denials from the White House that there was any truth to these reports.

As late as October 15, at a special State Department briefing for editors and newsmen, they were told that the Administration had no reason to believe it should take any action against Cuba. On October 19, the Defense Department denied that any alert had been ordered, that any emergency military measures had been set. There was absolutely no information indicating the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba, the Pentagon said. On October 20, Kennedy, in Chicago, cancelled the rest of a political tour because of "a cold" and returned to Washington. On the same day, the Defense Department again denied reports of missiles and bombers in Cuba.

Two days later, on October 22, came—as you know—his announcement that missiles were indeed in Cuba, a danger to the security of the United States and the Western hemisphere.

There followed a whole series of false news reports. Defense Secretary McNamara told reporters, not for quotation except for the usual attribution to high authority, that any ships failing to observe the blockade would be shot out of the water. The press was informed that it would be an air-tight blockade. They were encouraged to speculate that, unless the Soviet Union acted quickly, the United States was prepared to bomb Cuban missile bases and, if necessary, to invade Cuba.

This was the "generation" of news as a weapon which Sylvester defended. The American press was being used as a propaganda branch just as *Pravda* and *Izvestia* are used in Moscow.

This was the climax to a process which began within days after the Kennedy inaugural in January, 1961. It began with little things. The facts on the President's back ailment were suppressed for three weeks and revealed only when he was forced to appear in public on crutches. Then he went to Vienna to meet Khrushchev and there he received a dictum on Berlin. No mention of this was made in the President's televised report after Vienna to the nation.

Meanwhile, publishers and editors were invited in groups of 20 to lunch at the White House and subjected to soft blandishments. The muzzling of the military began and admirals and generals found they could not express themselves in public forcibly against communism. A blackout on news descended on both the Pentagon and the White House.

Correspondents who wrote favorable stories about the Administration were given private interviews with the President

This article is excerpted from an address delivered by Mr. Edwards to the Fifth *Human Events* Political Action Conference in Washington, D. C., on January 12. Tapes of Mr. Edwards' complete remarks and of the question and answer period that followed are available. See ad on page 132.

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and supplied with exclusive "news leaks"—sometimes true and sometimes not. Government press agents were advised that all press releases should carry President Kennedy's name in the opening paragraph and should portray his compassion and understanding for the people.

Independent reporters were excluded from news briefings. They began to get telephone calls from the White House and the Justice Department after they wrote critical stories. The Pentagon established a rule that no official might talk to a reporter unless a government press agent was present. . . .

There is time to go into detail on only one propaganda operation of the New Frontier. It is a shocking story, aptly described by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which exposed it, as "an affront to decency" and a gross abuse of official power.

Quite simply, the State Department started out to destroy a critic whose sole offense was that he opposed our policy in the Congo. It used the same methods of smear and character assassination and guilt by association which it used to allege against investigators of communism when it was itself under attack in former years.

The State Department's definition of McCarthyism in those years was: false and malicious accusation, without the right of confrontation. If we accept that biased definition for the moment, then the State Department proved itself in this incident the most expert practitioner of McCarthyism in history.

The target of its conspiracy was an alien, a Belgian citizen named Michel Struelens, who was sent here by the Katanga government two years ago to present its side in the Congo conflict. Struelens, for a period, enjoyed high favor with the State Department—even undertook a mission to the Congo for which he was congratulated by our officials. Then, the United Nations decided to employ force in a ruthless and bloody war against Tshombe and his government. Struelens protested and became a marked man. He was ordered deported but at this point the Senate Subcommittee began an investigation.

STRUELENS

Now this is what happened next. On the same day, in different cities, Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams, better known as "Soapy," and Deputy Assistant Carl T. Rowan made public speeches denouncing the huge "Katanga lobby," implying that it was spending great sums to influence Congress.

Rowan, by the way, has given us a classic example of the New Frontier's attitude toward the free flow of information to the people. Listen to this one: "You do not," he said, "sit in Washington in a sensitive job very long without admitting to yourself that, while the public does have a right to know, it also has a right *not* to know."

After the Williams and Rowan speeches, there was a "news leak." The State Department, it was reported, was investigating "one of the most amazing stories of international bribery attempted in the diplomatic corps." Costa Rica, it seemed, had been offered a million dollar bribe by agents for Tshombe.

Not too much attention was paid to this story by reputable newspapers. It had been peddled to a columnist who has been called a liar by every President of the United States in the last 30 years—except the present one. Nobody asked the State Department if it was true. So, Lincoln White, the press officer, was given a memorandum which instructed him to confirm the story and, in fact, to improve on it, to name Struelens as the would-be briber.

White waited, at his daily briefing with the press, hoping some correspondent would question him. None did, so, rather lamely, he had to volunteer it. As a result, reporters were equipped to write sensational stories about a million dollar bribe offer by Struelens based on statements by an official State Department spokesman. Struelens, a man with a blameless record, was pictured as a criminal conspirator.

Was there, in fact, any evidence to support the bribe story? The investigation revealed that it was based upon a bit of gossip at the UN about an alleged conversation by a Costa Rica official who had been accosted, he said, by some unidentified person and about the conversation he made this remark: "There was no money offer but I was left with the impression that there would have been one if I allowed the conversation to continue."

Otherwise, the Subcommittee could not find a scrap of data to support the story. Struelens denied it under oath, the Costa Rica foreign ministry branded it "fantastic" and the Subcommittee agreed unanimously that the State Department had failed to present any evidence to support its official sanction of idle rumor.

The State Department had no apology for its unsavory role in this affair. It advanced an astounding justification—opposition to State Department policy was against the public interest. The Subcommittee commented:

"Virtually no member of Congress and no newspaper in the United States has not at one time or another expressed disagreement with some aspect of foreign policy."

Just one more example of news management by the Administration. Only [recently], the public was permitted to learn that a stream of propaganda stories [last month], date-lined Palm Beach, Florida, were all, in effect, dictated by President Kennedy himself. The newspaper reader couldn't have known this; the stories all attributed the source to "the highest authority" or to "friends of the President." The effect was to give these reports an extra blanket of authenticity. These were not the views of the President, guardedly talking for the record, but his most sincerely-held convictions, laid bare honestly and fully to friends and aides in the privacy of his own home.

You may be interested in the smooth, professional manner in which this propaganda operation was brought about.

First, word was circulated in Washington privately that the President would have a private briefing for the press in Palm Beach. This swelled the press corps down there to about 40 members. On New Year's Day this big group was invited to the home where Kennedy was staying. The rules were made clear. He was not to be directly quoted, his statements were to be attributed to persons to whom he had talked or to "high authority."

Foreign affairs would first be discussed for morning newspaper reporters; domestic affairs would then be discussed for afternoon newspapers. The release date was January 2, traditionally one of the dullest days for news in the year, insuring plenty of space and little competition from other news events.

The President talked for two hours. It was not a press conference; some questions were asked, but the President picked the subjects he chose to discuss. Official transcripts were then released to those present to make the task of writing easier. Some of these transcripts were sent back to Washington and the State Department there revealed them to British and other foreign correspondents. These men, not so scrupulous about following the rules, quoted the President directly and the White House was finally forced to admit that it was not "high authority" or "close friends" but the President, himself, who had inspired the flood of stories.

Now, what was the benefit of all this concealment? It meant that the President could put pressure on Congress through statements that he could not make in his own name. He could lay bare, without responsibility, his alleged thinking on a wide range of international and domestic affairs, protected from any repercussions. This, in my opinion, is management of news which reaches the brainwashing level.

Summing up, what do we have? We have clearly presented to us the conviction of the New Frontier that news is a weapon, a means of upholding policy and conditioning the public mind. Censorship is to be used to cover up mistakes and to stifle dissent. Distribution of news from government sources may be based on partial information, misinformation and outright falsehood, if deemed necessary. Anyone who dares voice open opposition to government policy must be silenced.

This is only 1963 but if these practices continue without restriction it may not take us 21 years to reach 1984.

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Section Four
February 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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Programs of Far-Sighted Businessmen

The Best Sort of Foreign Aid

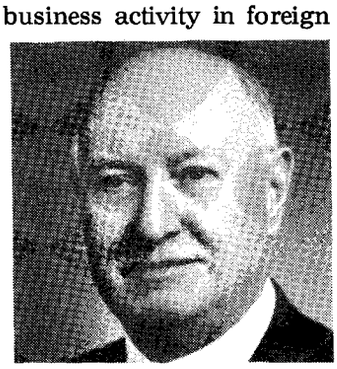
By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It is often said of conservatives that they are mean, curmudgeonly fellows who like to see babies starve to death. And when a conservative—or an old-fashioned liberal like myself—opposes an extension of foreign aid, the common retort is that men on the right wing of contemporary politics have no feeling for the needs of less fortunate countries.

In the arguments, pro and con, over foreign aid, the fact that it is generally unsuccessful when it passes through the hands of governments is pretty much overlooked. Yet even liberals such as J. Kenneth Galbraith, our Ambassador to India, are coming to see that intergovernmental grants and loans tend to get short-circuited. They are wasted, so to speak, on Cadillacs for potentates, and the common people, far from benefiting from the money, cower in the alleyways, and pray that their children won't be run over in the streets.

When foreign aid follows voluntary patterns, however, it is seldom wasted. And the fact is that some of our most effective foreign aid comes as a reflex of programs developed by far-sighted businessmen.

There is Mr. J. Paul Austin, the new president of the Coca-Cola Company, for example. With a long background of experience in Africa and Europe, Mr. Austin is a mine of information about the unintended local benefits of American business activity in foreign parts. Coca-Cola went into foreign countries for a reason that was eminently acceptable to its stockholders: It was looking to make more money. But that, as Mr. Austin points out, proved to be only half of the tale.



James A. Farley, who has been chairman of the board of The Coca-Cola Export Corp. for over 22 years, spearheaded many of the firm's foreign investments.

In the Middle East, even as late as the 1950's, thirsty people drank germ-infested water out of community tin cups that were dipped, unwashed, into malodorous goatskins. For a short period the appearance of Coca-Cola in the Middle East seemed to be helping only that segment of the population that could afford the local equivalent of a nickle for a drink. But soon a number of secondary—and unintended—effects became apparent.

It so happens that Coca-Cola depends on an absolutely pure water supply. To provide enough water to mix with concentrate, local bottlers had to import the latest and most efficient methods of water purification. Local politicos, watching sewerage water being transformed by running it through modern filters, suddenly saw a bright light. The example spread to Southeastern Asia: Singapore, for instance, gave itself a modern water system after looking at a Coke bottling plant. And in distant San Salvador in Central America, where Coca-Cola had an early program, the government used the local Coke bottling works to supply water for the town when an earthquake disrupted the municipal mains.

In its dealings with foreign countries, Coca-Cola is careful to avoid the taunts of "coca-colonization" by letting local entrepreneurs build and own the bottling plants, the glass works, the metal-working establishments, and the lithographic industries, that are needed to bring the product to the customer.

But the benefits deriving from the diffusion of ownership among the local populations were not limited to indigenous capitalists. A metal working industry, formed to produce bottle caps, soon branched out in many countries to provide other types of metal products. Glass works created to make soft drink containers found themselves taking orders for medicine bottles. Local truck services, using Coca-Cola maintenance manuals, were quickly plunged into a general garage business, with the result that the lifetime of a truck in the Middle East or Africa has been extended to five years instead of the traditional one. As for the lithography needed to make Coca-Cola posters, it created modern printing businesses in a number of countries.

To its establishments in Atlanta, Georgia, and elsewhere in the United States and Canada, Coca-Cola brings hundres of young native foreign executives every year on its own version of the Fulbright scholarships. Turbaned Indians mingle with Chinese from Malaya and Latins from South America as they go about the United States for three-month capsule courses in modern management techniques. And the hundreds who go back to Africa and Asia carry advanced management know-how with them to indoctrinate thousands of their countrymen who never leave home.

Thus the benefits from a voluntary foreign aid program are spread like seeds from a bursting milkweed pod. It beats anything that Washington has been able to dream up.

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New Frontier Propaganda Mill

From the Nashville *Banner*

There are nearly 1,300 persons who are listed as accredited White House correspondents, but only about half of them are working newsmen.

To keep these people supplied with "information," the federal government employs 3,000 persons in various public relations roles.

Instead of an effective propaganda program directed against the Communists, most of the Administration's efforts are aimed at "selling" or justifying its own domestic program to the unsuspecting taxpayer who must foot the bill.

Fortunately, there are many newsmen on Capitol Hill who dig beyond the departmental handouts for what has become known as "hard" news. If this were not so, the public would have little idea of what *really* goes on in Washington.

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4. Panel—"ISSUES WE WON ON" Rep. Brock (Tenn.) & Rep. Snyder (Ky.)
5. Rep. Brock & Rep. Snyder Question & Answer
6. Panel—"HOW WE WON: HOW YOU CAN HELP NOW" Rep. Dole (Kans) & Rep. Gurney (Fla.)
7. Rep. Dole & Rep. Gurney Question & Answer
8. Rep. Bruce Alger (Texas) "BUYING CITY HALL WITH FEDERAL MONEY"
9. Rep. Bruce Alger (Texas) Question & Answer
10. Panel—"HOW WE WON: HOW YOU CAN HELP ME WIN IN CONGRESS" Rep. Foreman (Texas) & Rep. Rep. Wyman (N. Hamp.)
11. Rep. Foreman & Rep. Wyman Question & Answer
12. Panel—"WORKING TO CONSOLIDATE GAINS" Mr. Schuetz (Neb.) & Rep. Stinson (Wash.)

12a Complete Rep. Stinson Presentation

13. Mr. Schuetz & Rep. Stinson Question & Answer
14. Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, Pres. Brigham Young University, "YOUR SCHOOLHOUSE—FREE OR FEDERALIZED"
15. Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson Question & Answer
16. Rep. Katharine St. George (N.Y.) "CAN A NATION SO CONCEIVED LONG ENDURE"
17. Rep. Katharine St. George Question & Answer
18. Panel—"WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW TO WIN IN '64" Mr. Grenier (Ala.) & Mr. James (Tenn.)
19. Mr. Grenier & Mr. James Question & Answer
20. Mr. Steve Stahl (Okla.) "BUILDING SUPPORT NOW FOR FUTURE RETURNS—SAVING ENTERPRISE"
21. Mr. Ray Watkins "BUILDING SUPPORT NOW FOR FUTURE RETURNS—SELLING FREEDOM"
22. Senator Strom Thurmond (S.C.) "SPEAKS OUT AS A LONG TIME CONSERVATIVE"
23. Senator Strom Thurmond "SUMMARY OF THE VALUE OF THE MUZZLING HEARINGS"
24. Panel—"WHAT ARE WE DOING NOW TO WIN IN '64" Mr. Lupton (Conn.) & Mr. Workman (S.C.)
25. Mr. Lupton & Mr. Workman Question & Answer
26. Mr. Willard Edwards (Chicago Tribune) "JFK'S USE OF NEWS AS WEAPONRY" (Condensation)
27. Mr. Willard Edwards "JFK'S USE OF NEWS AS WEAPONRY" (Full Presentation)
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Section Five
February 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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State Governments Propose States' Rights Amendments

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By MALCOLM B. JOHNSON
From the Tallahassee *Democrat*

Human Events suggests that you write your state legislators to back these amendments. With vigorous action, they can be passed.

There's a bold, clever—and far from puny—new movement afoot among statehouse officials from all around the Nation to retrieve and make secure some of the constitutional state powers which have been lost to the federal government by surrender and usurpation.

The strategy jelled at a conference of elected officials of 47 states [in December]. . .

The plan is in three parts, involving a unified effort to have the legislatures of at least 34 of the states adopt within the next two years identically-worded amendments to the US Constitution to:

(1) Let the states change the Constitution without giving Congress a last chance to reject their desires;

(2) Take issues involving apportionment of state legislatures away from the federal courts; and

(3) Set up a great new "Court of the Union" composed of the 50 state supreme court chief justices with power only to review and set aside US Supreme Court decisions in disputes involving state vs. federal jurisdiction.

The significance, mainly, lies in the fact that we have here, for the first time, a statement of principles backed by the unanimous vote of official representatives of the various state governments, plus majority agreements to the precise wording of proposed changes in the US Constitution. . .

Now, these proposals are a long way from becoming actual amendments to the Constitution of the United States, but the lineup of state legislative political power behind them can't be ignored. If nothing else, they might be a psychological restraint to the federal judiciary's reckless encroachment on traditional state prerogatives.

The state-initiative plan for amending the Constitution is somewhat complicated for all but students of the Constitution, but it's a beauty of political deftness.

The Constitution now provides that Congress may initiate proposed amendments which become part of the Constitution upon ratification by three-fourths of the states. This is the only way the Constitution ever has been amended.

However, the Constitution also provides that, upon application by two-thirds of the state legislatures, the Congress shall call a convention which could propose amendments for submission to the states for ratification. This method never has been used, mostly because it is cumbersome and vague. It doesn't say how the convention should be constituted and organized, how delegates should be selected, nor how their representation should be apportioned. It could bring together a bunch of people who had no common purpose, to just flounder and fuss. Presumably, Congress could assure itself a veto of any convention action before submitting it to the states for ratification.

AMENDMENT NO. 1

This proposed amendment to the US Constitution—which was approved by a 37-4 vote of the delegates at the December convention of the 30-year-old Council of State Governments—is designed to give the state legislatures a stronger role in the federal amending process. Under the Constitution as it now stands, the state legislatures—two-thirds or more—can, through proper application, have Congress call a convention of the several states for the purpose of proposing a Constitutional amendment.

Amendment No. 1 would eliminate the convention of the states as a vehicle for proposing amendments and, instead, would permit the state legislatures to propose them directly. Under this Amendment, if two-thirds of the state legislatures propose a particular amendment to the Constitution, and three-fourths of the state legislatures ratify the same amendment, it will become the law of the land.

Here are the votes of the various state delegations on this Amendment as recorded at the Council of State Governments convention:

AYE		NO	PASS
Alabama	New Hampshire	Connecticut	Arizona
Arkansas	New Jersey	North Dakota	Hawaii
California	New Mexico	Ohio	Maine
Colorado	New York	Vermont	Michigan
Delaware	North Carolina		Washington
Florida	Oklahoma		
Georgia	Oregon		
Idaho	Pennsylvania	STATES NOT PRESENT	
Illinois	Rhode Island		
Indiana	South Carolina	Alaska	
Iowa	South Dakota	Montana	
Kansas	Tennessee	Nevada	
Kentucky	Texas		
Louisiana	Utah	PRESENT, BUT NOT VOTING	
Maryland	Virginia		
Minnesota	West Virginia	Massachusetts	
Mississippi	Wisconsin		
Missouri	Wyoming		
Nebraska			

The General Assembly of the States in Chicago devised a plan to use the convention method to bolster states' rights while simultaneously giving clarity and effectiveness to that same convention method.

Each of the three resolutions which will be presented to the state legislatures next year will call for a convention to act on a specific, identically worded amendment to the Constitution.

The first change would say that whenever, in the future, the legislatures of two-thirds (34) of the states had agreed to amend the Constitution, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall so certify, "the amendment as contained in the application shall be deemed to have been proposed without further action by Congress."

This would be an improved procedure for amending our Constitution. The cleverness of it is that if

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the state legislatures should start adopting the plan next month, they could force Congress to propose the same amendment by its own initiative rather than take the unprecedented political risk of calling a convention—sort of a shortcut by following the handwriting on the wall. This is so because the proposal itself says:

"If Congress shall have proposed an amendment to the Constitution identical with that contained in this resolution prior to January 1, 1965, this application for a convention shall no longer be of any force or effect."

See? Delegates of the states (one vote to a state) agreed 37-4, with six states abstaining and three absent, to recommend that their legislatures (usually led by these very same delegates) offer Congress a chance to submit this new amendment method to them within two years or they'll do it themselves. There's power there.

According to the Council of State Governments, Amendments Nos. 1 and 2 passed the Senate in both Colorado and New Jersey, the lower legislative body in Wyoming and both houses in Oklahoma.

The second proposal which the state legislatures were asked (by vote of 26-10 with 11 abstaining, three absent) to submit to convention as a proposed amendment would specifically declare that apportionment of state legislative representatives is no business of the federal government and beyond the power of the federal judiciary. That speaks for itself, and it too, would give Congress two years to submit the same amendment for ratification or risk the call of a convention.

The third amendment is the eye-catcher.

It would provide that within two years after any US Supreme Court judgment "relating to the rights reserved to the states or to the people by this Constitution," the judgment could be brought to review before a Court of the Union on demand by the "legislatures of five states, no two of which shall share any common boundary."

The Court would be composed of the chief justices of the highest appellate courts of each of the 50 states, and the sole issue before it would be "whether the power or jurisdiction sought to be exercised on the part of the United States is a power granted to it under this Constitution."

Three-fourths of the chief justices could be a quorum, but it would take a majority of the whole number (26 of the 50 chiefs) to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court. Only an amendment to the Constitution could set aside a ruling of the Court of the Union.

That might be a cumbersome judiciary, but it would make the Supreme Court answerable to someone—and who would be better equipped to combine both judicial wisdom and the political feeling of the people of the whole Nation than the Supreme Court justices (mostly elected by popular vote) of the 50 states?

There is real governmental sagacity and political astuteness in this plan. It is almost impossible to hope it will go through, but if it did, it would be a good thing.

Even the effect of having it debated fully in the 50 state legislatures will be good. Any considerable number of affirmative votes will be reflected in a stiffening of congressional spine to take action that is long overdue on one of a hundred variants of plans to haul the Supreme Court down from its arrogantly assumed heights of sovereignty.

Reprints of this article are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $20. Order by section number and date of issue.

AMENDMENT NO. 2

In the *Baker vs. Carr* decision last year, the Supreme Court ruled, in effect, that it possesses the right to determine the proper geographic and population size of election districts from which representatives to the state legislatures are chosen. Believing this is an extraordinary interference in states' rights, members of the Council proposed Amendment No. 2, which would prevent the judicial power of the United States from extending into this area.

Here is the vote on that Amendment:

AYE		NO	PASS
Alabama	New Mexico	Colorado	Arizona
Arkansas	North Carolina	Connecticut	Hawaii
California	Oklahoma	Delaware	Kentucky
Florida	Pennsylvania	New York	Michigan
Georgia	South Carolina	North Dakota	Minnesota
Idaho	South Dakota	Tennessee	Nebraska
Illinois	Texas	Utah	Ohio
Indiana	Wisconsin	Vermont	Oregon
Iowa	Wyoming	Washington	Rhode Island
Kansas		West Virginia	Virginia
Louisiana			
Maine			
Maryland			
Mississippi			
Missouri			
New Hampshire			
New Jersey			

STATES NOT PRESENT

Alaska
Montana
Nevada

PRESENT, BUT NOT VOTING

Massachusetts

How did your state's delegates vote?

AMENDMENT NO. 3

Under this amendment, any US Supreme Court decision relating to the rights of the people or the states under the Constitution would be reviewed by a special Court composed of the chief justices of the highest appellate courts of each of the 50 states, a Court of State Courts to sit in judgment on the Supreme Court. The sole issue this special court could decide is "whether the power of jurisdiction sought to be exercised on the part of the United States is a power granted to it under this Constitution." It would take 26 judges to overturn a Supreme Court decision.

Here is the vote by which the delegates to the Council of State Governments approved this Amendment:

AYE	NO	PASS
Alabama	Colorado	Arizona
California	Connecticut	Arkansas
Florida	Delaware	Hawaii
Georgia	Indiana	Michigan
Idaho	Minnesota	Nebraska
Illinois	Missouri	
Iowa	New Hampshire	
Kansas	New Jersey	STATES NOT PRESENT
Kentucky	New Mexico	
Louisiana	New York	Alaska
Maine	North Dakota	Montana
Maryland	Ohio	Nevada
Mississippi	Oregon	
North Carolina	Pennsylvania	
Oklahoma	Rhode Island	
South Carolina	Tennessee	PRESENT, BUT NOT VOTING
South Dakota	Utah	
Texas	Vermont	Massachusetts
Virginia	Washington	
Wisconsin	West Virginia	
Wyoming		

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Section Six
February 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

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Is Ben Bella Another Castro?

US Dollars Slated for Pro-Red Algeria

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

State Department plans for our taxpayers' aid to Algeria's red and bloody Ben Bella are back on the track, alas.

These got a bad knock immediately after his September visit here. Bella flew straight from our White House lawn to Fidel Castro's bosom.

His Havana castigation of the United States and paean of praise for all Reds sorely tested the Department's ardor.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk advised this part-time bandit that unless he somehow "disavowed" the Communist party in Algeria, Congress would as soon vote Mao Tse-tung a Rolls-Royce and the State of Hawaii as send him a nickel.

Ben Bella Complied

Confronted by only the need for lip-service in the Tito formula ($3 billion throughout 14 years) Ben Bella complied. Washington and Algiers simultaneously released carefully prepared news announcing he had outlawed the Communist party.

We should know, however, and are not told, what Bella is saying about this action in other quarters. I quote from his New Year greeting to Castro (unpublished here) as given to Communist reporter Angel Boan of Prensa Latina, the Red press agency:

"The position of the Algerian government with regards to Cuba remains: Total backing of the Cuban revolution and its leaders. The illegation of the Communist party here must not be considered an act contrary to Marxist doctrine, and even less an anti-Communist measure. . . Today the National Liberation Front [Bella's FLN] is the only party of our revolution. . . we shall have no anti-communism here."

The American Ambassador in Algiers cabled this Boan interview in full to the State Department; yet our own government has revealed not one word to the American people.

Meanwhile (December 12) Castro's radio announced that "a new town has been inaugurated to be known as Free Algiers." It is on Siguanea Bay on the West Coast of the Isle of Pines, the site of Castro's largest permanent jail. This town is likewise the scene of intense Russian activity.

Soviet dredges and technicians are still remodeling the harbor as a "fishing" (submarine) base, another embarrassing fact kept from the American public by our government's news manipulation.

Castro's Free Algiers houses have been turned over to the Soviet armed forces, along with the blessing of a new projector for the stream of Soviet films glorifying Ben Bella.

Bella's army—its tanks, guns, ammunition—is Sino-Soviet supplied. Official (clandestine) Communist backing began in Bern, Switzerland, as early as the summer of 1954. Egypt's Gamal Nasser served as midwife. He secretly sent Red-bloc representatives in the Swiss capital 3,500 pounds sterling through the Egyptian consulate in Benghazi as the first token payment for arms from the USSR, Red China, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

From Stolen Stores

Most came from Nazi Wehrmacht stores the Red army seized in East Germany. This is the army that sat out the entire Algerian revolution safe and snug in Tunisia—ready to bring Bella to power in the end.

The State Department's hush-hush plan for dollars for this man needs full exposure and a fast "whoa." Our foreign aid programs have long since become too large to support and too complex to understand.

Every working man wants to pay his proper taxes, and perhaps emergency taxes, too, at a time like this. But he does not want to support a lot of things he has no business paying for. Taxation can be sound, but taxation can also be robbery when our earnings are distributed abroad to men like Bella.

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Investigate the State Department

By Representative Richard L. Roudebush (R.-Ind.)

No other department of the federal government receives more honest and concerned criticism than the State Department. It is my opinion that the time is here to determine the validity of this criticism and concern.

Failure of the State Department to assess the growth of communism in Cuba and the subsequent consolidation of communism in the Western Hemisphere, our policy of subsidizing the war against pro-western Katanga in the Congo, our support and aid to leftist countries and the accommodation of Communist desires in the United Nations are but a few of a constant stream of criticisms about the State Department.

ROUDEBUSH

Letters and comments critical of the State Department are so numerous they have become routine, and, if the American people are concerned, it's time the Congress became concerned.

The Law of the Land?

Senator Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.) drew one of those bright, inquisitive women as partner at a formal dinner. She bombarded him with questions.

"Tell me," she asked, "what is the percentage of lawyers in Congress?"

"I don't exactly know, madame," replied the eminent Senator, "but it's higher than in the Supreme Court."

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PAGE 1

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PAGE 2

Where Will It End?

	Fiscal Year	Federal Expenditures (in billions)	National Debt at Year end (in billions)
FDR PEACE YEARS	1934	$ 6.7	$ 27.1
	1935	6.5	28.7
	1936	8.5	33.8
	1937	7.8	36.4
	1938	6.8	37.2
	1939	8.9	40.4
	1940	9.1	43.0
	1941	13.3	49.0
WW II	1942	34.0	72.4
	1943	79.4	136.7
	1944	95.1	201.0
	1945	98.4	258.7
TRUMAN YEARS	1946	60.4	269.4
	1947	39.0	258.3
	1948	33.0	252.3
	1949	39.5	252.8
	1950	39.5	257.4
	1951	44.0	255.2
	1952	65.3	259.1
	1953	74.1	266.1

PAGE 4

"To say that inflation (as distinguished from an alleged slack) can be cured by more spending, even if it were for productive projects, is about as sensible as to suggest that the best method to make a drunk sober is to force whiskey down his throat."

ROGER M. BLOUGH, Chairman,
United States Steel Corporation

PAGE 3

	Fiscal Year	Federal Expenditures (in billions)	National Debt at Year end (in billions)
EISENHOWER	1954	67.5	271.3
	1955	64.4	274.4
	1956	66.2	272.8
	1957	69.0	270.5
	1958	71.4	276.3
	1959	80.3	284.7
	1960	76.5	286.3
	1961	81.5	289.0
JFK	1962	87.8	298.2
	1963 est.	94.3	303.5
	1964 est.	98.8	315.6

JFK's Budget message said:

"I have felt obliged to limit severely my 1964 expenditures proposals. . ."

Comment: What would have been the total if JFK had NOT felt obliged to LIMIT SEVERELY his 1964 expenditures proposals?

Clarence Cannon, 20-term Missouri Congressman, Democrat, says: "We are spending money we do not have for things we could get along without. That's what has unbalanced the budget."

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Section Seven
February 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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A University President Tells Why He Opposes Federal Aid to Education

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By ERNEST L. WILKINSON
President, Brigham Young University

As a university president, I am deeply committed committed to the cause of education. Outside of our religious heritage I think there is nothing else as important in our country. And because about one-half of the people of our nation no longer belong to any church, I suppose that as of now education, both public and private, becomes the greatest motivating force in our lives.

My commitment is demonstrated by the fact that I have the honor to be president of the largest church-related institution of higher learning in the country, which this year will have a cumulative enrollment of around 15,000 regular, daytime students. I also have the responsibility of being Chancellor of the Unified School System of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which operates 130 universities or colleges and 1,233 seminaries of religion in connection with as many high schools. These seminaries operate in all but 12 states. Altogether these educational institutions have an enrollment of 115,698 students and represent a growth of over 150 per cent during the last 12 years. And I hasten to add that this phenomenal growth has been achieved *without* government aid or subsidy! Furthermore, over the next 12 years we expect another 100 per cent to 150 per cent increase in enrollment and we accept the challenge and opportunity of providing first-class educational facilities for this increase on our own responsibility.

WILKINSON

I am not, therefore, opposed to a mammoth program of federal aid because I am against increasing our educational opportunities and institutions, but because, in the long run, I believe it will be seriously detrimental to our nation and to our educational advancement as well.

I propose, in the short time at my disposal, to show that the claims advanced for federal aid are largely fictitious, that federal aid is not necessary and, finally, that there are great dangers to education itself in federal aid.

The clamor for a mammoth program of federal aid for elementary and secondary schools which took place in the 1950's was predicated on the assumptions (1) that there was a great existing and future classroom shortage in the country; (2) that there was a serious deficiency of present and future teachers, and (3) that teachers' salaries were not keeping pace with the economy.

The only trouble with these assumptions is that they were false! Or, perhaps more kindly, we could emulate Mark Twain, who, when advised that he was reported dead, replied that the report was "slightly exaggerated"!

When I was a young lawyer a veteran of the bar advised me that whenever the facts were on my side all I needed to do was to talk the facts, that when the facts were against me and the law for me I should only talk the law; but that when both were against me I should just talk. On the question of federal aid to education all I need to do is to relate the facts and will leave it to the others to continue talking.

Classroom Shortage

On the question of classroom shortage, the US Commissioner of Education, in 1954, testified to a deficiency of 370,000 classrooms in our elementary and secondary schools—which he predicted would increase to 476,000 by 1960. Not to be outdone, the Democratic Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, in 1955, predicted that by 1958 there would be a shortage of 600,000 classrooms.

Now, what are the facts? In 1959, the US Office of Education canvassed the State Departments of Education regarding the existing shortage. The replies showed a shortage of only 132,400 classrooms or less than 29 per cent of that predicted by the Commissioner of Education, and only 22 per cent of that predicted by the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. And there is no reason to suppose that these replies were understated, for they came from state superintendents of public instruction. This canvass certainly did not show an increasing "shortage".

Further, during the intervening time of these two surveys, i. e., from 1954 to 1959, the number of available classrooms "in use" increased 30 per cent (from 938,000 to 1,279,000), whereas enrollments in our secondary and elementary schools increased only 20 per cent. This means that during the period of the most rapid expansion ever to hit our schools, the rate of net addition of classrooms (not counting those abandoned) outran the addition of students by 50 per cent.

Coming closer to the present, the US Office of Education in 1961 further cut back its shortage estimates to 127,000 rooms and a state-by-state analysis of the classroom shortage raises doubts whether even this figure can be substantiated.

Field examiners of the US Bureau of the Budget, for instance, who tried to verify the estimates in states which account for half the claimed shortages raised many questions regarding them, but were unable to obtain or supply answers. But even if we accept the reported shortages at face value as reported by President Kennedy in his education messages in 1961 and 1962, the needs of the schools over the next ten years total at most 600,000 new classrooms—an average of

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60,000 a year. Yet for the past 5 years (according to a December, 1959, report of the Chief of the Projection Section of the Office of Education),we have built 66,740 classrooms per year.

This feat was accomplished notwithstanding dire predictions on the part of the Office of Education and of the National Education Association made in 1958: that states and communities were at the end of their financial ropes and could not continue to finance the schools.

Fortunately, most states and communities paid no attention to the fictitious figures or dire predictions and went ahead and built the schools they needed. Just like the ignorant bumblebee who continues to fly even though experts say it's aerodynamically impossible! Fortunately the educational faith and performance of our local communities greatly exceeded that of certain professional educators and politicians who professed to speak for the cause of education.

Admittedly, some districts decided to sit back and wait for the schools which they were promised the national government would supply "for free"—just as Santa Claus delivers presents "for free." But you and I know that both the taxpayer and the real Santa Claus have to pay for such presents.

If on the basis of the true facts, as now revealed, Congress does not pass any massive aid to education bill, these communities sooner or later must attend to their obligations, as other communities have. For in 1961 public educational construction exceeded $3 billion for the first time in history, totalling $3,051 million.

To be sure, sometime within the next few years the rate of school construction throughout the country will probably decline. States and communities will not continue to build almost 70,000 classrooms a year when at most 60,000 are needed. But the fact is that elementary and high schools, as far as construction of buildings is concerned, are "over the hump." The abnormally large number of postwar babies have already graduated from elementary and are now graduating from high schools. Birth and attendance records offer undeniable proof that from now on the annual enrollment increases will shrink to approximately half what they have been.

If, therefore, there was a real need for a massive federal aid program, which I deny, that need has now passed. And its passing demonstrates the fact that the figures and predictions presented to Congress were far from representing "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The tragedy is that a large number of members of Congress were hypnotized by the misleading reports and still have not come out from under the spell.

Teacher Shortage and Low Teacher Salaries

Now let us examine the claim that federal aid is necessary to retain old and obtain new teachers. On this assertion, we should note that the sharp increases in student enrollment which characterized the 1950's is fast diminishing. The average annual increase in school-age population (5-17 years) from 1955 to 1960 was 1,494,000; but from 1960-65, this rate is expected to drop to 1,145,000; and from 1965-70, the rate is predicted to fall to 644,000 or less than one-half our present rate of increase.

This is because during the next ten years we will have only a normal population increase, not the great abnormal increase we had during the '40's which became known as the war babies. Obviously, with a much smaller increase in school population, we will not need the percentage of increase in teachers we needed during the 1950's.

In the second place, we should note that the outlook for the teacher supply is highly reassuring. The percentage of all college graduates who prepared for teaching has risen from 21 per cent in 1948 to 32 per cent in 1959, and the number of college graduates is expected to double between 1958 and 1970.

So if the percentage of students choosing a teaching career is only maintained, we shall treble the supply of new teacher graduates. This does not indicate that any new federal paternity of teachers is needed. . .

Nor is federal aid necessary for teachers' salaries to keep pace with the growing economy.

Between 1947 and 1961 the increase in the average annual earnings in constant dollars for workers in private industries was only 40 per cent, for state and local non-school employes only 44 per cent, for federal civil employes 53 per cent and for the instructional staff in public schools, 74 per cent. In other words, teachers' salaries rose at a much faster rate than employes' in private industries, non-school employes' and federal civil employes'.

The NEA report on the *Economic Status of Teachers* in 1961-62 itself shows (p. 21) that, between 1951 and 1961, the salaries of all workers in the country increased an average of 50 per cent and the earnings of federal civilian employes jumped 66 per cent; whereas, teachers' salaries increased an average of 71 per cent.

Now, as an educator, I am personally happy about this increase in teachers' salaries, but it should be noted it has come about under our traditional system of local responsibility and local control. And as our people become more wedded to education, as there is every evidence they are, the salaries of teachers will further increase, under local financing.

Thus, when we divorce sentiment and hypnotism from fact and reality we are also forced to the conclusion that federal aid is not necessary to increase teachers' salaries.

Equalization of Educational Opportunity

I now come to the original reason advanced for federal aid, namely, that such aid would equalize the educational opportunities among the various states, which, it is alleged, differ widely in their economic ability to provide proper education for elementary and secondary students.

But this type of federal aid—aid to poor states or poor districts—without any federal aid to the rich states or rich districts has so far been found to be politically impossible. Congressmen have never been willing to pass a general federal aid act which would tax the citizens of their own states to pay the educational costs of other states. Bills for general federal aid of this kind have been pending in Congress since 1875, but none has ever been enacted.

In January of 1961, a special education "task force" appointed by President-elect Kennedy and headed by President Frederick L. Hovde of Purdue University attempted to solve this dilemma by proposing the following "equalization" scheme:

(1) Each state would get a flat grant of $30 per pupil per year.

(2) States where personal income is less than 70 per cent of the national average would get supplementary grants of $20 per pupil per year

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(3) At the same rate ($20 per pupil per year), supplementary grants would be given to cities of more than 300,000 population with "grave and unique educational problems" (whatever they are).

This was not the first time, nor will it be the last, that an approach of this kind has been or will be proposed. The central theme, however, is that of legislators bribing each other by more and more needless appropriations and inroads on the federal treasury.

For it is self-evident that the basic grant for every pupil in every state would do nothing to equalize educational opportunities. Thus, as far as this basic grant is concerned, the original objective of federal aid is not served. And there is less reason for a supplementary grant to states of lower income today than there ever has been.

The reason is that the difference in economic ability and educational performance of the various states is fast diminishing. Thus, between 1940 and 1953 the per capita income in the 12 top income states rose only 27 per cent in dollars of constant value; whereas, in the lowest income states it increased 96 per cent. This trend has continued. Between 1938 and 1954 teachers' salaries rose only 28 per cent in dollars in the 12 lowest states.

Current school expenditures in the 12 top income states in 1953 equaled 3.4 per cent of the total income after taxes; in the 12 lowest states the comparable figure was only 4.2 per cent after taxes, a difference of only .8 per cent. Moreover, there exists in every state a certain inequality between school districts which would not be wiped out by federal grants.

To my mind, there is no question that many of our educational and political leaders have grossly under-estimated the deep determination of the American people to support education under our traditional system of local financing.

This is demonstrated by a recent report of NEA, entitled *Estimates of School Statistics,* 1961-62 (p. 14), which shows revenue receipts of schools climbed from $8.5 billion in 1954-55 to $16.6 billion in 1961-62 —an increase of 97 per cent in seven years.

The ten-year increase in school revenues, from 1951-52 to 1961-62, according to the same source, equaled 159 per cent, far in excess of the 100 per cent decennial rate which the White House Conference on Education had once established as a desirable goal. And, incidentally, there is considerable evidence available to cast serious doubt upon *both* the veracity and integrity of the White House Conference Report!

The growth in school finance under state and local control has been nothing short of phenomenal. Over the past 20 years the number of children in the public schools increased 42 per cent, the income of the schools 507 per cent, which, even allowing for the loss of half the dollar's value, appears to indicate no neglect of schools' needs. A recent report of the US Office of Education (*Progress of Public Education in the U.S.A.*, 1961-62) shows that since 1950 public school expenditures *per pupil* have increased 99 per cent, which was twice the rate of growth in average personal consumption.

This article is the text of Dr. Wilkinson's address at the Fifth *Human Events* Political Action Conference, January 11. A tape-recording of this speech is available. See page 132.

It thus appears that a mammoth program of federal aid is not necessary, either (1) because of a classroom shortage, or (2) because of a threatened teacher shortage or (3) because of low teachers' salaries. Finally, contrary to political and educational propaganda, states and the local communities are doing a pretty good educational job.

I now come to the affirmative reasons against a massive program of federal aid.

Fiscal Responsibility

Legally and de facto it is the local school boards which are charged with the responsibility of managing the schools and raising the money to finance them. It is the members of the school boards who are "in the middle" between the demands of the schools and the necessity of facing their fellow neighbors and taxpayers with the demand for higher tax rates and for bond issues.

It would therefore appear reasonable to assume that the school boards might spearhead the drive for federal aid. But, as you well know, the opposite is true.

The National School Boards Association resolved against the extension of federal aid and conducted a poll among its members which showed that a majority in every section of the country opposed federal aid. This, I submit, is one of the most powerful arguments against federal aid.

Centralization of Power

In my judgment the most important reason against federal aid to education is that the growing centralization of governmental power constitutes a very serious threat to individual freedom.

The national government has over the years extended responsibility and control to many functions and services which traditionally have been in the state and local domain. It has done so although national defense and international affairs now demand far more than ever before, both in terms of finances and in terms of expert knowledge, study, attention, judgment and time. Congress and the President are overburdened with grave matters with which they alone can deal. Why burden them with more?

The national government now claims two-thirds of all tax collections in the country, leaving to state and local governments only one-third—a reversal of their relative positions prior to the 1930's. If education were added to national responsibilites, the federal government would have to claim an even larger share of the tax dollar, leaving states and communities less able to deal with their problems.

Moreover, the national government has been operating on a deficit basis for 27 years out of the past 33, and this fiscal year will encounter a deficiency of about $7.8 billion, with another deficit expected for next year. The national debt on its face has reached $300 billion. But this is only a part of the story.

When you add to the present indebtedness, accrued liabilities for services already rendered or goods already delivered, the total federal debt is over a trillion, a huge sum which represents an indebtedness of $5,400 for every man, woman and child in the

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United States. What justification is there, under such circumstances, to add further obligation onto the national treasury? It is time we started paying off this debt rather than enlarging it.

I, for one, as an educator do not want my profession to contribute to the fulfillment of Lenin's prophecy that he would cause us to spend ourselves in bankruptcy. We are already too near to its fulfillment. Nor do I want to contribute to the fulfillment of Khrushchev's prediction: "I am convinced", he said, "that tomorrow the Red flag will fly over the United States. But we will not fly the flag. It will be the American people themselves . . . "

KHRUSHCHEV

As an educator I can think of nothing that in one step would more nearly fulfill this prediction of our becoming a kindred Socialist republic than for us to surrender our local control of education.

Federal Control of Education

Those who think otherwise and say we can have a massive program of federal aid without federal control are political "babes in the woods" who are uncertain about their constitutional parentage!

Even though a federal aid bill may originally be enacted providing for no federal control, it is inevitable that succeeding Congresses will impose that control. That has been true of all federal programs. Indeed, if the government puts up the money it is entitled to control, and will. He who pays the fiddler calls the tune.

An editorial in *The Nation's Schools* (September, 1960) said: "There is something quite naive in the way we school people talk about federal control of education. Some of us think that federal influence on education can be prevented simply by stating that it shall not exist . . . Federal direction is inherent in any federal law or any federal court decision pertaining to education."

Indeed the thoughtful leaders in the school field, while they are discreetly silent as to federal control while they are seeking federal aid, will, once they get federal aid, also seek federal control. Thus, an editorial in *Overview,* monthly magazine of the school administrators, for November, 1960, said: "The long-held view . . . that educational policy should be made by local units of government will have to go . . . the national welfare demands a national system of education."

Early in 1961 the US Office of Education released a very revealing—and somewhat startling—report entitled "A Federal Education Agency for the Future." In an important appendix to the report, this significant statement is made:

> "The federal government must be prepared in the coming decade not only to continue and, where appropriate, expand existing programs of aid to education; it must also develop new avenues of assistance and patterns of educational leadership."

Here is the nub of the matter! Without a doubt, the report links federal aid with federal control. What are these "new patterns" of leadership going to be, except as dictated by Washington, D. C.?

And what could we otherwise expect? Thus as early as 1934 Dr. John Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, stated:

"My experience in handling federal subsidies [and] reason . . . both indicate that federal money cannot be expended wisely and efficiently except by exercising federal control and supervision; even then there is considerable waste."

And of more significance and more dangerous, listen to the parallel drawn by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the late President of Columbia University:

"It is universally acknowledged that the unhappy decline in Germany of university freedom and effectiveness and the equally unhappy subjection of the educated classes to the political and military ruling group were the direct result of the highly centralized and efficient control from Berlin of the nation's schools and universities."

Money Alone Is No Cure

Finally, in my judgment, the most precarious contention of advocates of federal support is that additional money will cure the ills of education. The fact is that billions could be poured into state school systems without increasing the quality or appropriateness of instruction that children receive. Only the states have the real authority to correct the inefficiencies in school districts organization, in teacher training and certification and in school administration.

Unless the federal government decides to force such improvements upon state school systems as a prerequisite to receiving federal funds, federal aid might become merely a means of permitting provincial school leadership in the states to be able to afford the luxury of their own costly traditions and inefficiencies.

We will have real improvement in education only to the degree that the people at home appreciate both the value of high quality education and the means by which such quality can be achieved.

Without grass-roots support, the cause of education in America is defeated, and no transfusion of federal greenbacks will remedy the irrevocable loss to our society. But I am fully confident that the American people will not allow this terrible loss. Remembering their sacred heritage and tradition, they will continue to fight for strong and high-quality public schools based on local fiscal jurisdiction, bold and imaginative planning and grass-roots control.

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